SECOND JOINT DEBATE

At Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1858.

The following is the full text of the Freeport debate, August 27, 1858, the second in the memorable series of seven, which took place between Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln on that year.

Mr. Lincoln's Opening Speech.

Ladies and Gentlemen: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas addressed himself last in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I his hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the topics which he has brought forward in the course of his last speech. Of course, in the course of what there was brought within the scope of the speeches he makers of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, my part and others' I may not be able to see it, but certainly I have made no charge of falsehood upon Judge Douglas, nor sought, in anything that I have said, a justification, or at all connected with what we have, in this instance, for that kind of vocabulary.

I have been in the habit of charging falsehood upon no one any part, that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill, Judge Douglas was not a conspirer to make slavery perpetual and national. I have been in the habit from time to time of giving my reasons for believing that there was such a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national, and I have given from time to time evidences which conduced to establish my belief of such a conspiracy. I returned to this charge, and I shall be justified from time to dwell upon it at very length in the course of what I say to Judge Douglas in his reply of half an hour to-day, and I propose to do so. I will do it, I propose noticing a few of the points.

The Judge insists that, in the first speech that he made, the charge, he thought made that charge, he thought that I was charging that the Supreme Court was absolutely in it, was an element, was a party to the conspiracy to make slavery national. I have always said, when he so far as that I insisted upon was a matter of conjecture, a matter of opinion, and I have always so treated it. I have always said that I could not prove it by any man, that I could not prove it by any combination of men, that I could not prove it by any number of men, but that I had my opinion that it was so, and that opinion I have expressed. I have always stated that I could not prove it by any man, that I could not prove it by any number of men, but that I had my opinion that it was so, and that opinion I have expressed. I have always stated that I could not prove it by any man, that I could not prove it by any number of men, but that I had my opinion that it was so, and that opinion I have expressed. I have always stated that I could not prove it by any man, that I could not prove it by any number of men, but that I had my opinion that it was so, and that opinion I have expressed.

Now, he tells me the Judge has not said that one can recollect. I suppose he had the right to make that issue if he chose to make it, and to call upon me to produce what I uttered at Springfield, and I will produce it. I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to persuade such an audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I can say that with truth, if it would be offensive to any person and render the speaker unsafe or insecure, it would be offensive to persons in the audience.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories which I have framed them. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is,

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by lawful means, make their Constitution what they may regard as republican, and apply for admission to the Union under it, before they have the requisite number for a Representative Congressman to the English bill, will you vote for admitting them with you vote to admit them?

Question 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiescing in, and adopting, the new doctrine of Judge Douglas, that, notwithstanding the people of a Territory may lawfully exclude slavery prior to the formation of a State constitution, they may, nevertheless, in spite of such exclusion, introduce it themselves before they form a State constitution?

As introductory to these interrogatories which I am now propounding to me at Ottawa, he said a set of resolutions which he had put forth Judge Trumbull and myself had put forward in adopting, the first by the Republican State convention, held at Springfield, in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the other Republicans, were responsible for the resolutions contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understood that it was for that reason he chose particularly to read the resolutions that he defined the Republican party. I do not answer that question, for the reason that I have not been responsible for the resolutions which have been passed from time to time by conventions with which I have not been connected, and I am not now to be called upon to answer for them, and I will not answer for them, because I have not framed them, and have not been responsible for them. Further than that, I think I should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening the force of them. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an abstraction, an opinion merely, but are now in an agitation in regard to a clear, definite proposition, as to whether a certain thing shall be done or not, I submit that I have done as I proposed should be done, in answering the interrogatories which I have propounded to him.

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington in May, 1856, acting as a party man by the platform of the party then and there put forth, to the interrogatories which I shall answer as I go forward the same as if I were responsible for the party resolutions, and I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not, and that after I have done so, I shall propound others

[illegible] ...ing. Did I ex-
...pound the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln made, pronounced it a forgery and a falsehood? The "Union" has claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any prevision in the Constitution or laws of the free States to the contrary was null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did so. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull and Lovejoy, were present, and with all the rest whose Black Republican feelings were not entirely extinguished, left it to me to denounce it, and I did so. To the reply made to me on that occasion by Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, I urge and undertook to lecture me on the general law. I replied that I considered the article worthy of notice, and would not be since replied to by that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, or a slave State, who did not repudiate any such principle. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and not one word of it in question. He might as well ask me, suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, or will I sanction it? and it would be as pertinent to the one as the other. But he sends a newspaper containing an extract from the Supreme Court of the United States by ingenuity that they would overthrow the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on this earth could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his purblind feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is: Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union, on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I am glad Lincoln whether he is in favor of acquiring territory in disregard of that principle, opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he doesn't like to answer. When I asked him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party he turns, Yankee fashion, and, without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question? I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery part of it, when we have acquired it, I will then, as a citizen of one of the slave States, refuse to make it slave territory as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when we had territory extended to the Mississippi river, and a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more; and by Louisiana territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, was acquired. Then we received from the California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a growing and a growing nation. It swarms as often as in the spring, and as soon as swarms are turned out each year, and they commence their flight, they must go and make their homes. Within less than fifteen years, if the same progress which has distinguished this country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase the area of free white labor as well as now? I tell you, increase, and rapidly, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. You can only breathe this great republic by new boundary lines, saying, "This far shalt thou go and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a man twenty years of age, who is his enough, and must not grow any more, that we have territory enough, we must put a boundary line over which to keep him in his present size. What would be the result? Instead of the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the man must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our natural increase, when we add a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is flowing from despotism to the Old World to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant upward pressing into the territory that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle, and just as fast as our interests and our destiny pressed, we must acquire it in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I will meet it as I do when we acquire it, in the Senate of the United States, and to the Nebraska bill, free to do and grant upon the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on the four points. He racked his brain so much in devising those four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength to frame a fifth, which I regret as soon as he is able to hold a conference with his adviser, Lovejoy, Trumbull, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and present it. I will answer it good." You Black Republicans who are good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to consider them as the worst men in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The first time I came here to make a speech, while there in the midst of a crowd of people of Freeport, as I was doing myself a new privilege, and a noble citizen one it was, drive up and take a position on the outskirts of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was in the carriage with a colored man, Fred Douglass and her mother constituted another and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I inquired, "Is that your own fowl. \("What of it?"\) All I have to say of it is this, that I do not think Republicans think that the negro ought to be allowed to associate in with your wives and daughters, and rife in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a right to do so. I have been told that one of Fred Douglass's nominees, another rich planter, who is now traveling in this part of the State and has speeches for Mr. Lincoln as the champion of black men. ("What have you to say against it?") All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the interrogatories consumed in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has proceeded to reply to here today. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at a mass piece. Mr. Lincoln does right of the matter. I have in my hand the identical platform which he read in his speech. He thinks that the resolutions were adopted at the right "spot."

I will take his direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he has read the platform. The first proposed at the Bloomington convention, and has only more slave States into the Union even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot proviso, not only to the territories we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire, be refused to admit any such fellows; my reason, that my interrogatories were not adopted in the right "spot." Lincoln and his politicalfriends are great on "spots."

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Resolved, That the continued and increasing aggressions of the slave power upon the free States of this Union, and the consequent danger to our cherished institutions, render it necessary that the Republican party of Illinois should declare its principles, the principles of liberty and the Constitution of the United States, which we regard as the principles bequeathed upon us by the slave power, in defiance of the principles of the fathers, and so known as Republicanism, and which we are willing to stand by, and to defend at all hazards.

To defend the administration of the General Government in all its departments, when acting in accordance with principles in the genius of free Territorial legislation, and to oppose the introduction of slavery into free Territory, as we would oppose its introduction into States in which it exists; and to oppose the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot proviso, not only to the territories we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire, be refused to admit any such fellows; my reason, that my interrogatories were not adopted in the right "spot." Lincoln and his politicalfriends are great on "spots."

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[illegible] ...rigues of a free people, and that each aggressive round is successfully repulsed, the more certain will the encroachments be renewed, and conflicts multiplied.

Resolved, That the guiltiness of the Nebraska bill, in its direct effect, in letting slavery into free territory, is only equaled by the enormousness of its violation of the faith of the country, in the unrepealed compromise of 1820, the principles of liberty and the Constitution of the United States, which signed it cheated and betray

fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the country, and so far as all it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there, and the judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Then the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President Pierce, his character as a man of honesty and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge as infamous as, whoever originated it, must have been by subterranean mole. I am willing that Mr. Douglas should go and search my every public act of value, every speech I have uttered, every vote I have made, speech delivered, and private letter written, and when he can point upon me a corrupt connection with the pro-slavery power, the application of the outrages of the country to that end, or a desire to profit by the history of the country, I will be no foe. Until then it could not have been possible, at this time, for me to suppose that the secret himself in the caves, because I have made a charge against the Washington "Union." My speech in which I made that charge was upon the "Union" was made because it assumed a proslavery character, and by sacrificing that the free States had per the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the Washington "Union," Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge that I knew was false. I suppose it was; Mr. Lincoln is the peculiar depository of Mr. Buchanan's secrets, and he is interested as the Washington "Union" is, to say that the fact he must publish to the world. I have not seen every attack that I have made upon the "Union" answered by the whole thing. The Washington "Union" is dead, and with it all its allies, Cornelius Wendell, a pro-slavery editor, Mr. Lincoln's claim to the contrary notwithstanding. Cornelius Wendell was the printer of the Thirty-fourth Congress, and when a Representative he was a candidate before the proper Democratic body, but was unceremoniously kicked out, and then he made the money which he has made out of the public printing by means of Mr. Buchanan's influence, bought the Washington "Union," and, as I have charged, it was the organ of the Democratic party. Mr. Lincoln has a right to call attention to the Senate, Mr. Lincoln knows that Cornelius Wendell is dead, and that the Washington "Union" is dead, and all men, Cornelius Wendell, is alive—even Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the Thirty-fourth Congress, and when a Representative he was a candidate before the proper Democratic body, but was unceremoniously kicked out, and then he made the money which he has made out of the public printing by means of Mr. Buchanan's influence, bought the Washington "Union," and, as I have charged, it was the organ of the Democratic party. Mr. Lincoln has a right to call attention to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln knows that Cornelius Wendell is dead, and that the Washington "Union" is dead, and all men, Cornelius Wendell, is alive—even Mr. Lincoln calls him. This only proves what I took charged, that there is an alliance between Lincoln and the administration, and that the public officeholders of this State, and presidential candidate as of it, he brought me down at home.

Mr. Lincoln is also bound to come to the rescue of the Washington "Union" in a late speech which I delivered in answer to the Washington "Union," in which I distinctly called the "Union" alone. I did not choose to go beyond it. If I have occasion to attack the President's character, I will not be misunderstood. Until I do, I shall respect it. I have never attacked it until I was forced to do so, and

Abe, said Mr. Mc-Mur, as soon as ever he got his breath, 'what blue's we got to show for it? Where do you come in?'

Mr. Lincoln sadly answered:

"Nowhere, I reckon," he answered simply.

"Good Lord!" said Mr. Judd.

Mr. Medill gulped.

"You seem to say, as the candidate of the Republican party, you don't care whether you get to the Senate?"

"No! I can send Steve Douglas there with his 'whigs beaten' on the saddle cry.

"Suppose he does answer yes that the people be enlisted?" said Mr. Judd.

"Then," said Mr. Lincoln, "then Douglas loses the vote of the great slaveholders, the votes of the solid South, that he has been fostering ever since he has had the title to the President. Without the solid South the Little Giant will never live in the White House. And unless I'm selfishly mistaken, Steve Douglas has had his eye as far ahead as 1860 for some time."

Another silence followed these words. There was a stunned quality in the air, and he spat deftly out of the open window.

"You mean by saying Steve Douglas, Abe," he, too, gloomily, "but the devil will take you off the hind?"

"Don't worry about me, Ed," said Mr. Lincoln. "I'm not worth it."

In a wave of comprehension the significance of all this was revealed to Stephen Brice. The grim humor, the sagacious statesmanship, and that of all the superb self-sacrifice of it, struck him suddenly. He think that it was in that hour that he realized the full extent of the wisdom he was near, which was like unto Solomon's.

Shame surged in Stephen's face that he should have unbridled him. He had come to patronize. He had considered him a man of ability, of years, when he thought of this per-sonage at all. The supreme part of him that day, it was in the tongue of Emerson: "Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood."

How many have conversed with Lincoln before and close, and knew him not!

If an outward and visible sign of Mr. Lincoln's greatness were needed —he had shown it to speak to them, to beseech parables. The story of Farmer Bell was plain as day. Jim Ricketts, who had life all his own way, was none other than Stephen A. Douglas, the easily successful. Bell was Lincoln, who was not to be won solely by the power of the Little Giant. And the pear was the sensationalism, which the people had denied himself to save. Snum from being Mr. Richard's brother.

Stephen could not understand likewise the vehemence of the Lincolnian leaders who crowded around their candidate and tried to get him to retract that question. He listened quietly, he answered with a quiet smile. Now and then he threw a story into the midst of his own reflection which made them laugh in spite of themselves. The happiness of the case was quite plain to Mr. Hill, who smiled, and whispered to Stephen's ear: 'He has made up his mind. They will not bother him any more, once they know it.'

Then the schools took the reins of power, which was every man for himself and finnermuthed by this time, and handed it to Mr. Hall. The train was slowing down for Freeport. In the distance, bands could be heard playing, and along the track, like upon line of men and women were waiting and waving. It was ten o'clock, raw and cold for that time of the year, and the sun was trying to come out.

"Bob," said Mr. Lincoln, "be sure you get that right in your mind. And, Steve, you stick close to me, and tell me the show. We'll need it," he added, smiling, "there's the great Douglas parade on, crowding us out."

All that Stephen saw was a regular day on a circus lot, and the confusion was on the trader hitched behind it.

Chapter V. The Crisis.

Stephen A. Douglas, called the Little Giant on account of his intellect, was the type of man of which our race has had some notable examples, although they are not characteristic. Capable of sacrifice to their country, personal ambition is nevertheless the mainspring of their actions. They must either be before the public, or else unhappy. This treat gives them a large theatrical quality, and sometimes brands them as adventurers. Their ability saves them from being demagogues.

In the case of Douglas he had decidedly renewed some years before the time when he was to meet Lincoln, or, to settling down a disciple of extreme cleverness. This doctrine, the many others of its kind, seemed at first to be the balm it pretended, instead of a fetich, as it really was. It was calculated to deceive all except thinking men, and in reference all save a merciless logician. And his merciless logician, the well-known-soul in time of need, was Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Douglas was a juggler, a political prestidigitateur. He did his tricks before the eyes of the Senate and the nation. His bills for the development of the nation's wounds was a patent medicine to cleverly concocted that experts alone could show what was in it. Its shortcomings and hollowness some of Mr. Douglas' doctrines that a genius was quite just the thing for simple words, for the common people.

The great panacea for the whole trouble put forth by Mr. Douglas at that time was briefly this: "Let the people of the new territories should decide for themselves, subject to the Constitution, whether they should have slavery or not, and we will settle for themselves all other questions under the Constitution." This plan for Mr. Douglas, there was the famous Dred Scott decision, which settled the South with with joy the year before, and had cast a ghost over the North. The Chief Justice of the United States had declared that under the Constitution slaves were property—and as such every southern citizen owning slaves could carry them about with him wherever he went. Therefore the territorial legislature could pass laws that they were dumb, and yet their seceding might bring with them all the slaves they owned.

And it seemed love the Judge. He was a gentleman, a strong man, and a patriot. He was magnanimous, and to his immortal honor be it told that he, in the end, was the greatest of all struggles. He conquered himself. He put down the mightiest thing that was in him—his ambition for himself. And he set up, instead, the ambition for his country. Before he ill will toward the man whose fate was so strangely linked to his, and who finally came to that high honor of honor and of martyrdom which he coveted. We shall love the Little Giant, and we shall love him once, for that sublime act of kingliness before the Civil War.

Abraham Lincoln might have prayed on that day of his visit to Freeport the words: Lord, He is not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe." What should prevent him from the public persuing westward to the Pacific, wondered wheeling and dealing his Eastern friends who pursed their lips when the West was mentioned, and would have sneered or prayed. A young Douglas undoubtedly was a man that day did not esser. He was a man of power, something like unto saw at the visor of this action which he was wearing. The blue of his coat—Creditmens he saw, vulgarity he heard, but here at the end were veiled.

America was in Freeport that day: the rush of her people and the sanctity of her soil. Douglas was the occasion, and quickly the issue out of it. Lincoln, the bitterness wilted, and he was the man and symbol of the democracy of the Minnesota forests. The sun smiled and frowned, Clouds hurried in the sky, marking the human kaleidoscope below. Cheering thousands seemed about the station as Mr. Lincoln's train arrived. They hemmed him in his triumphal passage under the great arching bow of the new Brewster house. The chief hotel and the talk, great men before, were suddenly immortal. The country bestrode them by force of proper precedence like minutes at state dinners. We have talk in Abraham," "Yet another county for the Republican party," "Hail to the Miller"—the drums and fifes drowned, the bands marched, the Cook Club, part of Jefferson ship Band. Pipes sidled, and drums throbbed, and the stars and stripes mingled in the breeze. And here was a delegation headed by Judge Douglas, and the sun edged under a dark cloud.

Then the rain fell, and rained dirty, sifted the supply of splinters was so far behind the proposed. Under the firmament, it was divided into little bodies which revolved about larger bodies. But these lacked not here supporters of the Little Giant, and discreet fingers of influence to the Democratic leaders who wished to hear the afternoon's debate before speaking. There also were the men of the broad shoulders. Here was one of the latter, who, despite his great eruelties, like a character in a play by Shakespeare, had the confidence of his senators and great men. For the most part he was overlooked by the crowd alone. A figure of dignity and power in the midst of the Douglas delegation. Slave, when he smiled, you warmed the world with your goodness, and when you frowned the world looked grave.

Oh, Judge, you thought there was a passage between Scylla and Charybdis which your craftiness might overcome. "It matters not," you cried when you answered the question, "if matters not which way, the Supreme Court may ever hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not exist in a territory under the Constitution. The people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it at their pleasure for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations."

Judge Douglas, gloomy will you lie Stephen's face, as you uttered the Freeport heresy.

It only remains to be told how Stephen A. Douglas, on the floor of the house after the debate, found Mr. Lincoln on his knee, in tears of delight, was a small boy. He had come to Freeport as a spectator, as the child was a one-hand. Standing beside him was Mr. Lincoln, who had dragged his son across two counties in a farm wagon, and who was to return on the morrow to enter this event in the family Bible. In a corner of the room were several important gentlemen of influence who wished to talk about the question.

But when he saw Stephen, Mr. Lincoln looked up with a smile of welcome that is still, and will ever be, remembered and cherished.

Tell Judge Whipple that I have met little matter, Steve," he said.

"Say, Mr. Lincoln," he exclaimed, "you have had no time.

I have had time enough, Mr. Douglas," said I think I am well read on the Constitution. I have a little more than you did yesterday, I reckon," he said Slowly.

"Come, Steve," said Mr. Lincoln, "be honest. Don't you feel sorry for me last night?"

Stephen looked startled.

"I never shall again, sir," he said, "I've wondered all my life what it all came and go, flickered and went out. In its stead we hear the fine notes of ineffable sadness—the sadness of the world's tragedy—the broken sonata of Christ crucified.

Pray God that you are not sorry for me again," he said.

Mr. Lincoln put on his lag was with. The politicians had left the room. Mr. Douglas had kept Mr. Lincoln's hand in his own.

"I have honor for you, Stephen," he said, "and forgive me.

Stephen Brice never has. Why was it that he was the station with a heavy heart? It was a sense of the fitness of things that he could not see to be. This Lincoln of the black face, who built his workshop of rails, and bood his neighbor's corn, who was a mere storekeeper and postmaster and flatboatman. Who had followed the Indians through a rough life, who drove around a rough circuit, who had studied a book hatly in the midst of current women from insult; tended the bedside of every one he covered who feered the judgment; told cruder stories than any man in the country, and that time pre-sides over the vice of great men, and the world will not be in a hurry to see, struggle down from the stump and flatboat to the presidency, and be the first person who was one day to tend the wicked of the South, and to whose large hand was to be on her throat. Who was to be commander in almost divine was to perform the heroic act of his life, and to say that the Physician Himself performed it. Who was to be the chief ruler was done, died a martyr. Abraham Lincoln also in His name.

MR. LINCOLN AT THE BREWSTER HOUSE

Discussion About Asking Question Two of Mr. Douglas.

Freeport Journal, Jan. 7, 1932.

When Mr. Lincoln asked his question of Mr. Douglas in the Joint Debate at Freeport on August 27, 1858, Mr. Douglas was seated on the Supreme Court of the United States by a majority of one vote. Dred Scott decision, you forgotten? Let us refresh your memory. Dred Scott was the plaintiff in the famous case decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1857. The Constitution recognizes the right of property in slaves in the United States, whether it be legislated for or not. Slaves are property, and as such are entitled to the protection of the provisions and guarantees of the Constitution, and the same protection of private property as other property. Dred Scott was a slave who sued for his freedom on the ground that he was a citizen of Illinois, a free state, and had resided there for a number of years.

Well knowing these things Mr. Lincoln carefully and adroitly prepared the question which he propounded to Mr. Douglas, and in the forenoon of that day in a room in the Brewster house in Freeport in the presence of many people (the writer being one of them) he read the question to Mr. Douglas and asked him to reply. Douglas might make, he suggested, a speech before he replied, or give up all hope of ever becoming United States Senator. Douglas laid them upon one or the other horns of a dilemma. Mr. Lincoln was much bigger game than Senator from Illinois, and he brought down the game he was after. His persistent determination to ask the question of Mr. Douglas defeated Douglas for President, and the United States and all that is recorded History; and no obscure Illinois lawyer, by the name of Stephen A. Douglas, could alter or change it. We know that Mr. Douglas was a man of great ambition, and was thoroughly loyal to the Democratic party. He made such a speech in Springfield in April, 1861, expressing as loyal devotion to the Union as any man could, and we believed him until we were honest. We shall always honor the memory of Stephen A. Douglas as a loyal citizen of the Republic, side by side with Abraham Lincoln, who, in that debate, was more than a match for Mr. Douglas. There is no necessity to change a single fact of history in order to do justice to the memory of Stephen A. Douglas.

DOUGLAS MARKING THE BLOCK WITHIN WHICH DEBATES TOOK PLACE The two speakers stood on the platform at the corner of the block

WITHIN THIS BLOCK WAS HELD THE SECOND JOINT DEBATE IN THE SENATORIAL CONTEST BETWEEN ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, AUGUST 27, 1858

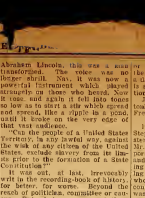
"I AM NOT FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES."—STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

"OUR GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY, HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

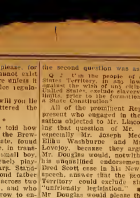
ERECTED BY THE FREEPORT WOMAN'S CLUB

1932

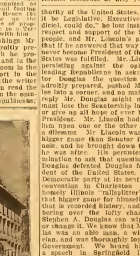
DEDICATED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, JUNE 3, 1935.



BREWSTER HOUSE.
Where Lincoln Stopped in Freeport



W. W. HUTCHISON
Who furnished the picture at the top of the page of the site which carried Lincoln to the platform.



MRS. G. A. STILES
Recalls incidences of fifty years ago.

Q. — Can the people of a State of the United States, in any lawful way against the will of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of such a State Constitution?

All of the prominent Republicans present who engaged in the conversation objected to Mr. Lincoln's asking that question of Mr. Douglas; among those present were Medill, Ex-Elihu Washburne and Mr. Judd. Lincoln, however, became firmer than Mr. Douglas would, notwithstanding the fact that Douglas's decision in the Dred Scott case in his New Orleans speech would enable slavery to be introduced into the territory. Douglas would answer the question by his answer, and would beat Mr. Lincoln for Senator if he answered it. After listening to all that was said against his putting that question to Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln replied, "I don't know how Mr. Douglas will answer; if he answers that the people of a Territory cannot exclude slavery, I will beat him; but if he answers as I think he will, and I believe he will, he may beat me for Senator, but he will never be President of the United States." Mr. Doug-

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A REMINSCENCE OF LINCOLN
BY MR. JOSEPH MEDILL

Lincoln's Cunning Question Put to Douglas at the Freeport Debate.

From Chicago Sunday Tribune, May 3, 1896.

The older men remember that a joint debate was held between Senator Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the autumn of 1858. The joint debate drew seven times to discuss the various phases of the slavery question as it was then before the public. Mr. Douglas had the opening and closing four times and Lincoln three times. The first debate was at Ottawa Aug. 21, 1858. The second one at Freeport Aug. 27. The interesting time between each discussion was filled by the respective disputants in addressing separate meetings of their political friends. At the first debate Senator Douglas asked Mr. Lincoln several questions as to his position on various points, to which Mr. Lincoln replied, promising to submit questions on the same subjects, whether Douglas stands pledged or not to the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make, whether pro or against the desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States." A desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States. North as well as South of the repealed Missouri compromise? Whether, to the end of the seven questions. Mr. Lincoln, in addition to these questions at Ottawa, but reserved what he might see fit to ask when he would meet Douglas at Freeport.

Freeport second contest. On the train after the Ottawa discussion to Freeport the addressed three or four meetings during that time, one of them at Galesburg, where there was an immense audience; another at Monmouth in McDonough county, where the crowd was comparatively small. As I recollect it we proceeded directly from Macomb to Freeport on the morning of Aug. 27, and on the train on the way Mr. Lincoln began to ask me what I thought I did, and reading one of them several times. After a considerable pause he asked:

"Well, how do those interrogatories strike you?" I replied: "Mr. Lincoln, I do not like the second question." "That's the objection," said Mr. Lincoln asked. I replied: "It opens the door through which it seems to me Douglas will be enabled to escape from the hole he is in on the Dred Scott decision on the slavery question by the latitude which your answer will be construed to give. It is the one question which excluded slavery from the territories north of 36 deg. 30 min. that included, of course, Kansas and Nebraska."

"In what way, do you think," said Mr. Lincoln, "it will benefit him to answer?" "Your question says: 'Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wishes of citizens of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?'

"Now, in my opinion, Mr. Lincoln, that question is the most embarrassing and desperate one Douglas could possibly put to you. He knows that to answer in the affirmative he will be compelled to say that it would defeat him disastrously in Illinois for re-election to the Senate, and he doesn't want that to happen, as he would prefer to be defeated before the country, he will undoubtedly declare that whether the decision is put to him that a majority of the people of a Territory may exclude the introduction of slaves thereto, or if they may enter in, that they can drive them out." "Against the will of the owners?" asked Mr. Lincoln, and I replied: "Yes, certainly."

"Douglas has been pushing the doctrine of popular sovereignty in Territories for some time. I don't quite see how he can answer."

"Now, I don't think he will answer," said Mr. Lincoln. Judge Douglas is more anxious to be elected President two years from now than he is to be re-elected to the Senate for the third time this fall.

"Don't you see that if he answers my question as you seem to think he will, he will exasperate every slaveholder in the South, who will be compelled to the doctrine that the people of the U. S. have no equal rights in common to take to every species of their property into the Territories precisely as the citizens of the North may carry all kinds of their property into any Territory? Every slaveholder believes that under the very provisions of the constitution a Southern citizen can take his slaves from one into another and keep them there, and hold them as property. Kansas has a Territorial legislature only, with just as much right to secede from the Federal Union as Massachusetts abolitionist would have if he sent into the Legislature with a span of horses to farm, or if some of our Illinois Senators should go over there with maize for the same purpose. Now, Mr. Lincoln, don't you see that if Douglas replies in the way you imagine he will he would lose every supporter he expects to get in the South, and would make the Democratic rule of requiring a two-thirds majority to nominate impossible for him to be a successful candidate at the Democratic party in 1860?

"Now, on the other hand, if he should reply in the negative and declare that slaveholders have no right to the other citizens of Territories with slaves that may be brought in, and then deny the power of the constitution to protect themselves from slavery, he would exhibit a willingness to run of being elected to the Senate, and he would probably render it impossible if he were nominated to every one of Northern States. I don't see how answers you believe he will it will cost him a good many votes even in Egypt, where the old settlers come mostly from the slave States and feel about the same as the people of the South."

That is the substance of what passed between us and the language as far as I can recall it.

We argued it at some further length, but I could make no impression whatever on Mr. Lincoln's mind. He said that he wouldn't change the form of the question, and that he intended "to spear it at Douglas that afternoon as she time we arrived at Freeport and there is a great square of that city, where Mr. Lincoln was holding his house to the office of the Secretary of State. He had no boat down to my car and said to tow tones, something like this: "Joe you recollect the arguments we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over my question that I was going to ask Judge Douglas about the power of the people to exclude slavery from territories?" And I replied: "Yes, I recollect it well."

"Now," said he, "don't you think I was right in the form I put the question?" "I said: "Yes, Mr. Lincoln, you were right, and you have Judge Douglas' reply to that question in his speech delivered at Ottawa. The Presidency but it re-elected him to the Senate he would be."

"I return to another of Mr. Douglas' speeches in the campaign of 1858, at the time announcing the famous 'House Divided' speech. In the last one. He says that ten millions of dollars in gold appropriated by a confluent appropriation, to prevent the invasion of the Territories of the Britain on the Maine boundary question. Now, I will say to you, Mr. Lincoln, First, that the ten millions appropriated by the act of 1839, 1839, was consequently could not have been expended in the Territories, for the war was unprepared, it has never been expended, and it is not probable that Mr. Douglas recollect that he introduced a bill in the Senate making that appropriation, and I supported it, as I thought I did not vote for it. But whether I voted or not, I am sure the expenditure of 1838 were paid for out of the Treasury of the United which I have to be untrue, that five millions of the ten were expended which I knew to be untrue, that ten millions were paid to the Maine boundary war, which I not only knew but voted for, and consequently I know it was false; and when I saw that he was stating things in that way I would permit such groundless and false statements to go unchallenged —I readily consented that, on the following day, I would address to the audience should judge whether or I knew what I was talking about or the world's contempt."

This is the most significant fact in the leading politics. It stands at the head of the column, it stands at the head of the list of Douglas struggle a note that was struck in the first campaign speech he ever made, in which these two were to be the chief actors.

During the canvass that followed Mr. Douglas in the interests of slavery extension. The entrenched Democratic stronghold in the Senate in the interests of equal emoluments Collodion between the two sections. Mr. Douglas, the author of the Whig standard lost no opportunity of making the Democratic platform with the Democratic orator of the Democratic Convention of 1852, for negro suffrage in the District of Columbia, Whereupon Lincoln, to prove his assertion, read from the Democratic platform of 1852, the words of Khedeiwok's own state-

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he pains he does not feel the same time. I fear Bowley's attitude will damage me with Simpson; he wants me to be with the other friends in the East." Shortly after this letter was written Bowley borrowed further the weekend to explain the wise song of the East from Salkeld; it published, the MSS. mission was not entirely successful, for he found some of them wanting but in lines of expediency which all his energies failed to expel. Meanwhile, however, the atmosphere was changing at home. Illinois Republicans could not bring themselves to "make any reliance," as Seward expressed it, "on a man so slippery as Douglas," and when their State convention met at Springfield, on the 16th of June, 1858, they formally declared for their man on whom they could place absolute confidence, and without a moment's hesitation, they passed the resolution:

"That Abraham Lincoln is for us, and this entire delegation from this State is for him, and we announce that to the world."

Douglas had, of course, his friends in the State, but their influence was slight. Lincoln's nomination was received with a single point upon which he could and would stand, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. The result was that he is a great man, and that the largest of the three very small ones. Let this be granted.

But is Douglas dead to politics? Is a dead Dog." Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion then work, is a dog in a cage and toothless now."

Again, Bowley, but one of the most described by Lincoln, did the people, in their wisdom, make of him a dog? Certainly not. Returning home to Chicago, with the prestige of having had first audience of the administration's still fresh about him, he opened his campaign for re-election as a dog, but not as a magnificent public reception. The speech made by the Democrat on that occasion, from a balcony of the Tremont House, was a direct challenge to Lincoln, of whom, in the flush of his pride, he spoke contemptuously as "a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman." Then he mender could not be added "alert" to this catalogue of good qualities for Lincoln was present at the meeting, and when Douglas had concluded he arose, amidst the cheers to call for a speech, that he might answer the charges made against the following evening. By the time he aggrieved the audience for the day's proceedings he had, however, begun to be, not a dog, but a lion, and so rather he spoke in the Republican Wigwam, on the 16th of July. Lincoln was again a political antagonist of the Senator's speech at Springfield, which he had not followed, with a few hours, by his opponent's reiteration to the Bloomington audience, he continued, meeting after meeting, "for nearly a week Lincoln pursued Douglas, it soon became evident that the 'Little Giant' felt his forensic adversary and cleverly managed campaigner to be more than a match for him at start. Then Lincoln, recalling the Senator's own words, that he challenged Douglas to a series of debates; in response, the Senator, who had no choice but to accept the challenge, declared that there were to be seven meetings, at places of considerable size in Douglas's own territory. The first of these was held at Ottawa, on August 21, a hot, sultry day, in the open-air auditorium of the public school, which was filled to overflowing with an audience of fifteen thousand people, and there were many more who could not find room to enter. On the contrary, nobody has ever seen Douglas look more at his best. He was in the prime of life, in the very zenith of his powers, and his splendid physique, his commanding presence, his magnificent voice, and his consummate skill as a debater made him a most formidable opponent. Lincoln, on the other hand, was not at his best. He was not a practised speaker, and he was physically at a disadvantage. He was tall and lank, and his voice was shrill and piping. He was awkward in his movements, and his features were homely and irregular. Douglas was the idol of his audience, and when he arose to speak he was received with tumultuous applause, while Lincoln was greeted with only a few scattered cheers. Douglas was, as usual, splendidly dressed, while Lincoln's clothes were ill-fitting and unbecoming. Douglas was a practised orator, while Lincoln was a novice at the art of public speaking. Douglas was an able debater, while Lincoln was comparatively unskilled in the art of debate. Douglas was a master of the subject under discussion, while Lincoln was not. Douglas was a man of the world, while Lincoln was a man of the people. Douglas was a politician, while Lincoln was a statesman. Douglas was a party leader, while Lincoln was a leader of men. Douglas was a demagogue, while Lincoln was a patriot. Douglas was a time-server, while Lincoln was a moral reformer. Douglas was a product of the present, while Lincoln was a product of the future. Douglas was a child of his environment, while Lincoln was a creator of environment. Douglas was a politician, while Lincoln was a statesman. Douglas was a man of the hour, while Lincoln was a man of all time. Douglas was a giant, while Lincoln was a dwarf. Douglas was a steam engine, while Lincoln was a cyclone. Douglas was a cataract, while Lincoln was a niagara. Douglas was a storm, while Lincoln was a hurricane. Douglas was a tempest, while Lincoln was a whirlwind. Douglas was a prairie fire, while Lincoln was a volcano. Douglas was a pestilence, while Lincoln was a plague. Douglas was a cholera, while Lincoln was a yellow fever. Douglas was a conflagration, while Lincoln was a world on fire. Douglas was a prairie, while Lincoln was a continent. Douglas was a Mississippi, while Lincoln was a Missouri. Douglas was a Rocky Mountain, while Lincoln was a Himalaya. Douglas was a Niagara, while Lincoln was a Mississippi

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

THE SPLENDID EULOGY

Delivered in Freeport, August 27, 1908, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Lincoln and Douglas Debate, by His Friend and Admirer,

HON. W. T. DAVIDSON

of Lewistown.

Mr. Davidson on being introduced to the audience spoke as follows:

Fellow citizens, we are gathered here to-day to commemorate the Lincoln Douglas Debate in 1858 Mr. Lincoln being the guest of honor.

"Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas was laid to rest in Chicago. We were both young then, he a little younger than I, and I recall that then we were both ambitious—I personally am still such as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure—with him a success. His aim has been one of splendid success. His name will live in the nation while it is known in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he

HON. W. T. DAVIDSON.
Who speaks on Douglas.

attained.

In 1844 came on the great question of the annexation of Texas. Given up by Clay and Van Buren, Polk's nomination was hailed with joy by the country's friends. The Judge became a convert to the new—but not before a shock had run, by I have never been able to learn.

Polk was elected. He had pledged himself to

territories. Douglas and the conservative democrats north and south, both true it was a local and domestic question, the democratic party could have settled it right to vote upon that interest, and finally by debating by the people of the respective states and by the people of a territory when they should form a constitution to organize a territorial government, by a majority vote in and a person 18 years of age. This was the only constitutional way in which this great audience who will not now question that the people of the north and the south as thousands to one of our American people have been taught in every history and even all the school books since the war, that this slavery question was our Revolutionary fathers fought to the last extremity. The colonies did not object—would never permit—to be under the general government of the mother country, but they objected to be under the arbitrary and tyrannical power of the king and parliament of England. They objected to the despotism of King George and the parliament in connection with their domestic concerns especially as the colonies were not represented in parliament. Nobody ever accused Douglas on this occasion. Nobody ever successfully answered him on that question that the power to regulate the relation of master and servant was never delegated to the general government, but, with a fractional dozen states, with their navigation contracts in climate and environments productions and varying needs, should be reserved to the states or to the people. Under the constitution of the United States